

Modern Serbian, Montenegrin and Croatian Historiography on the Ottoman Empire

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ALTHOUGH the first important studies dedicated to South-Slav history under the Ottoman rule and based on primary Ottoman sources were written before World War Two (some of them still being valid),¹ the science of historiography in the former Yugoslavia began with serious research in this subject during 1950s. At that time, there were several centers for Ottoman studies, in Belgrade, Sarajevo and to a lesser extent, in Skopje. Podgorica and Zagreb have only developed interest in this field recently, as will be elaborated in this paper.

A) Modern Serbian Historiography on the Ottoman Empire

In spite of the fact that both Sarajevo and Belgrade were home to some very distinguished scholars in Ottoman history, and both cities had very influential Oriental studies programs at the university level, Sarajevo took the leading role as the primary academic center for Ottoman studies, which was due to a large part that the Institute of Oriental Studies (which has its own journal called *Contributions for the Oriental Philology/Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*) was located there.

Belgrade had no such Institute or specialized center; within the Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts there was a special research unit, the members of which were experts on the Ottoman language and history.² These experts

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1 See works of Gliša Elezović and Fehim Barjaktarević. For more details on their life and work, as well as complete bibliographies: Ljiljana Čolić, *Orijentalističko delo Gliše Elezovića (Gliša Elezović's oriental studies)*, (Beograd: Filološki fakultet, 1996); Anđelka Mitrović, *Naučno delo Fehima Barjaktarevića (Scientific work of Fehim Barjaktarević)*, (Beograd: Filološki fakultet, 1996).

2 See works of Dušanka Bojanić, Olga Zirojević and Radmila Tričković. They have contributed some very important works to Serbian and Yugoslav historiography; here only those that provide a framework for the further development of Ottoman historiography studies in Serbia will be mentioned: Dušanka Bojanić, *Zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku kruševačku i vidinsku oblast (Laws and regulations for the regions of Smederevo, Kruševac and Vidin from 15th and 16th century)*, (Beograd: Istorijski institut 1974). For a full bibliography of Dušanka Bojanić, see Slavica Merenik "Bibliografija dr Dušanke Bojanić (Šopova, Lukač)" (Bibliography of Dušanka Bojanić Šopova, Lukač)", *IC (HR)* 51 (2004), 241-247; Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uredjenje u Srbiji 1459-1683 (Turkish military rule in Serbia 1459-1683)*, (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974); Zirojević Olga, *Crkve i manastiri na području Pečke patrijaršije do 1683 (Churches and Monasteris within the Jurisdiction of the Peć Patriarchate until 1683)*, (Beograd: Istorijski

studied primary Ottoman sources, trying to find the answers to a variety of questions that were relevant and essential for illuminating this important period of Serbian history.

Despite their efforts, and not in keeping with the long period of Ottoman rule in the Serbian lands, or with the rich Ottoman inheritance in both a historical and cultural sense, an inheritance which can still be seen and sensed in the modern Balkans, there is an impression that the Serbian historiography did not adequately or methodically investigate the period of Ottoman rule. There was no organized academic movement that could provide well-educated experts or organize this branch of historiography on an institutional level; if this had been done it would have led to the creation of a well-established scientific strategy and projects that would have produced better results than had been the case to date.

The crisis that the entire Yugoslav society underwent at the end of eighties, as well as the civil war during the nineties, influenced Serbian historiography as well. But, despite all the difficulties (first and foremost, a lack of financial support for research in foreign archives), Serbian historiography as whole, and Ottoman studies as an integral part of the same, managed to rise to the challenges of the time and to maintain a high professional level, not letting the daily politics influence the content of academic work. This paper will focus on the last twenty years of Ottoman studies in Serbia, indicating the most important books, monographs and articles, as well as the direction that the development of this discipline is taking.

I

The abovementioned lack of funds for research trips limited the possible topics of Ottoman history studies in Serbia. The historians were restricted to using previously photocopied documents, which mostly came from private collections. The researched topics can roughly be divided into the following five categories:

1. Political history;
2. Social relations;
3. Settlements and population;
4. Economic history, and
5. Church history

However, such a classification is not always very precise, since the majority of the articles can be put in more than one category. A brief description of the most important monographs, studies and articles, plus the direction of research in each of the above mentioned groups follows:

1. Political History

The most important title on political history is *Serbia under the Turkish rule: 1459-1804* by Olga Zirojević.³ This book encompasses all the key moments and events

institut, 1984); Radmila Tričković, "Srpska crkva sredinom XVII veka (Serbian Church in the mid 17th century)", *Glas (Proceedings of the Department of Historical Sciences) CCCXX, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka*, (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), vol. 2, (Beograd 1980), 61-164.

³ Olga Zirojević, *Srbija pod turskom vlašću. 1459-1804 (Serbia under the Turkish rule. 1459-1804)*, (Novi Pazar: Damad, 1994; Beograd: Srpski genealoški centar 2007).

during this period of Serbian history as well as the social conditions of the population. Although it describes well-known facts, personalities and events, this monograph is still essential for those studying the history of Serbia under the Ottoman Empire.

Yegen Osman-pasha,⁴ another significant title, was published in 2001. Written by Srdjan Katić, former assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy at Belgrade University, who has since 2002 been conducting research at the Historical Institute in Belgrade, this highly documented work makes use of primary Ottoman sources, and thanks to the skill of the writer is a very interesting read. In this book, Katić describes not only the personality of Yegen Osman-pasha, a former mercenary who managed to reach the highest ranks of the Ottoman administration by becoming the *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, the *vali* of Bosnia, and a commanding officer on the Hungarian front before he was labeled a threat to the throne and killed as a result, but also the situation in Serbia and its neighboring regions in the tough war years of 1686-1689.

Besides the above listed monographs, there are several other works which belong to this category, the majority of which focus on the Great Vienna War.⁵

2. Social Relations

Studies on social relations mostly focus on the characteristics of the *timar* system and the social groups in Southeastern Europe during Ottoman rule and the special attention this system paid to the Serbian people.⁶ This category of works includes the

4 Srdjan Katić, *Jegen Osman-paša (Yegen Osman-pasha)*, (Beograd: APP, 2001).

5 Miljković Ema, "Kraj vladavine Kosača i prve godine osmanske vlasti u Hercegovini (The End of the Rule of the Kosačas and the First Years of the Ottoman Government in Herzegovina)," *Kosače osnivači Hercegovini (The Kosačas, the Founders of Herzegovina)*, (Gacko, Beograd 2002) 291-307; Srdjan Katić, "Niška tvrđava nakon pada Beograda 1717. godine (The Fortress of Nis After the Fall of Belgrade in 1717)," *IČ (HR)* 39 (1993), 119-136; Srdjan Katić, "Bitke kod Osijeka i Haršanja 1687. godine (The Battles of Osijek and Harkany in 1687)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 49 (1994), 121-132; Srdjan Katić, "Jegen Osman-paša vo Makedonija (Yegen Osman-pasha in Macedonia)," *Avstro-turskata vojna 1683-1699. godina so poseben osvrt na Karpošovoto vostanie vo Makedonija (The Austrian-Turkish War 1683-1699 with a Special Review of Karpoš's Uprising in Macedonia)*, (Skopje (1997), 177-188; Tatjana Katic, "Viyana Savaşi'ndan Sonra Sürbistan (1683-1699)," *Türkler* c. 9, (Ankara 2002), 765-772; Tatjana Katić, "Srbi u Nišu posle turskog osvajanja 1690 (The Serbs in Niš After the Ottoman Conquest in 1690)," *JIČ (Yugoslav Historical Review)* 1-2 (1998), 49-64; Radmila Tričković, "Osmanska priča o odmazdi u Nišu 1690 (The Ottoman Story of the Revenge in Niš)," *IČ (HR)* 45-46 (1998/1999), 307-326. There are some serious differences between these two authors regarding the fate of the Serbs in Nis after the Ottoman re-conquest of this town.

6 Olga Zirojević, "Carski posedi u Sremu u vreme turske vlasti (The Sultan estates in the region of Srem during the Ottoman rule)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 45 (1992), 72-77; Zirojević Olga, "Imareti (The Imarets)," *Danica* 3 (1996), 466-471; Olga Zirojević, "O socijalnoj mobilnosti u Osmanskom carstvu (On social mobility in the Ottoman Empire)," *Islam, Balkan i Velike sile (Islam, The Balkans and the Great Powers)*, (Beograd 1997), 87-92; Aleksandar Fotić, "Dva priloga iz istorije Srema 1687 (Two Contributions on the History of Srem in 1687)," *Zbornik za orijentalne studije SANU (Review for Oriental Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 1 (1992), 139-14; Aleksandar Fotić, "Institucija amana i primanje podaništva u Osmanskom carstvu: primer sremskih manastira 1693-1696 (The Institute of aman and the Acceptance of Submission in the Ottoman Empire: The Example of Monasteries in Srem 1693-1696)," *IČ (HR)* 52 (2005), 225-256; Aleksandar Fotić, "Ugovori na "drugim" jezicima i osmanski šerijatski sud (XVI-XVIII vek) (The Contracts in the "Other" Languages and Ottoman Shari'ah Court (16th-18th century)," *Balkanica XXXII-XXXIII (2001/2002)*, 175-180.

continuation of the social studies of the Ottoman Empire, which began in the mid-20th century by Dušanka Bojanić, Olga Zirojević, Radmila Tričković, Hazim Šabanović, Branislav Djurdjev, Nedim Filipović, and Adem Handžić, to mention just some of the most respected scholars in the field. The new generation of historians focusing on this area did not establish new hypotheses, they only confirmed those proposed by the abovementioned authors.

3. Settlement and Population

Due to the availability of sources, the majority of the monographs, studies and articles in the field of Ottoman studies written in Serbian during the last two decades concentrate on the development of the settlements and demographic movements in the Serbian lands under Ottoman rule. The main source used in these works is the *defters*, Ottoman census books.⁷ Despite the internal limitations of this source, which foreign as well as Serbian historiography has pronouncedly pointed out, the *defters* represent a very valuable source on issues related to historical geography and demography. In the

182; Srdjan Katić, "Organizacija poštanskog saobraćaja u Osmanskom carstvu od 16. do 18. veka (Organization of the Postal Service in the Ottoman Empire 16th-18th century)," *Zbornik radova Pismo, (Collection of Works Letter)*, (Beograd 2001), 29-37; Tatjana Katić, "Sirote kudeljnice i baštiniče: dva tipa hrišćanskih udovičkih domaćinstava u Osmanskom carstvu – na primeru Prizrenskog sandžaka u 16. Veku (Indigent Hemp-Spinners and Baština-Owners: Two Types of the Christian Widow's Households in the Ottoman Empire – through the Example of Prizren Sanjak in the 16th century)," *IČ (HR)* 58 (2009), 209-229; Ema Miljković, "Knežinska samouprava u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini 15. i prvoj polovini 16. veka (The Autonomy of Valach knezs in the Sanjak of Smederevo in the second half of 15th and the first half of the 16th century)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 57 (1998), 87-97; Ema Miljković, "Feudalni sistem na Balkanu u prvom veku osmanske vladavine (The Feudal System in the Balkans during the First Century of the Ottoman Rule)," *Naselja i stanovništvo oblasti Brankovića, (Settlements and Population of the Branković region)*, (Beograd 2001), 533-547; Ema Miljković, "Prilog proučavanju migracija vlaškog stanovništva na srpskom etničkom prostoru u drugoj polovini 15. veka: primer vlaha nahije Kukanj (Contribution to the Study of Valach Migrations in the Serbian Lands during the Second half of 15th century: Example of Valach population of nahije Kukanj)," *Braničevski glasnik (Braničevo Review)* 3/4 (2006), 85-93; Ema Miljković, "Hrišćani spahije u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini 15. veka (The Christian Sipahis in the Sanjak of Smederevo in the second half of 15th century)," *Moravska Srbija, (Moravian Serbia)*, (Kruševac 2007), 85-90; Ema Miljković, Aleksandar Krstić, "Na raskršću dve epohe: kontinuitet i promene društvene strukture u Braničevu u 15. veku (At the Crossroad of Two Epochs: Continuity and Changes of the 15th century Braničevo Social Structure)," *IČ (HR)* 56 (2008), 279-304; Ema Miljković, Aleksandar Krstić, "Tragovi srpskog srednjovekovnog prava u ranim osmanskim kanunima i kanunnamama (Traces of the Serbian Medieval Law in the Early Ottoman Qanuns)," *Srednjovekovno pravo u Srba u ogledalu istorijskih izvora (Serbian medieval law in the historical sources)*, (Beograd 2009), 301-319.

7 On the Ottoman census book as a source for Serbian history see: Ema Miljković, "O značaju osmanskih popisnih knjiga kao istorijskih izvora – na primeru deftera smederevskog sandžaka (The Relevance of the Ottoman Census Books as a Historical Source: The Example of the Census Book for the Sanjak of Smederevo)," *IČ (HR)* 49 (2002), 2003, 123-138; Ema Miljković, "Osmanske popisne knjige kao izvor za istoriju srpskog naroda pod osmanskom vlašću (O postojećim kritičkim izdanjima i planiranim projektima) (The Ottoman Census Books as a Source for History of the Serbs Under Ottoman Rule About present editions and future projects)," *Banjalučki novembarški susreti "Nauka i obrazovanje," Filozofski fakultet u Banjaluci, Naučni skupovi*, knj. 6, tom I, (*Novembar scientific meeting in Banja Luka "Science and Education," Faculty of Philosophy in Banja Luka, Conferences* no. 6, vol. I.) (Banja Luka 2006), 269-281.

last two decades, monographs dedicated to the histories of Belgrade,⁸ Prizren,⁹ Ulcinj,¹⁰ and Pljevlja¹¹ under Ottoman rule and several articles studying particular settlement or *nahiye* and their development, importance and demographic movements have been written. In these works, the authors describe the fiscal relations and population policy as well as suggest an adequate typology for the researched group of settlements.¹²

8 Radmila Tričković, "Beograd pod turskom vlašću 1521-1804 (Belgrade Under Turkish Rule 1521-1804)," *Zbornik za orijentalne studije SANU (Review of Oriental Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 1 (1992), 93-137.

9 Olga Zirojević, "Prizren u defteru iz 1571. godine (Prizren in the *defter* from 1571)," *IČ (HR)* 38 (1991), 243-263; Olga Zirojević, "Prizren - primer hrišćansko-islamske koegzistencije (Prizren-Example of Christian-Islamic coexistence)," *NovopazarSKI zbornik (Museum in Novi Pazar, Proceedings)* 23 (1999) 127-134.

10 Olga Zirojević, *Ulcinj u prošlosti (Ulcinj in the past)*, (Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2009).

11 Ema Miljković, "Pljevaljsko društvo-preobražaj srpskog trga u osmansku kasabu (Society of Pljevlja - From the Serbian Marketplace to the Ottoman Qasaba)," *Istorija Pljevlja (History of Pljevlja)*, (Pljevlja 2009), 89-131.

12 Olga Zirojević, "Kroz Bihorsku nahiju 1571 (Throughout the *Nahiye* of Bihar in 1571)," *Simpozijum SDSV (Proceedings from Scientific meeting dedicated to the young ages of Sreten Vukosavljević)* XIV, (Prijepolje 1992), 173-190; Olga Zirojević, "Prilog istoriji Kačanika (Contribution to the History of Kačanik)," *Zbornik Etnografskog Instituta (Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, Proceedings)* 42 (1993), 156-160; Olga Zirojević, "Jedan stari trg na Kosovu (One old market place in Kosovo)," *Balkanica* 24 (1993), 225-228; Olga Zirojević, "Naselja nahije Trgovište 1571 (The Settlements of the *Nahiye* Trgovište 1571)," *NovopazarSKI zbornik (Museum in Novi Pazar, Proceedings)* 18 (1994), 31-54; Srđan Katić, "Tursko utvrđenje Kučajna od osnivanja 1552/53. do austrijskog osvajanja 1718. godine (The Turkish Fortification of Kučajna from its Establishment in 1552/53 to the Austrian Conquest in 1718)," *IČ (HR)* 48 (2001) 2002, 137-146; Ema Miljković, "Valjevski kraj u prvim decenijama turske vlasti (The Region of Valjevo in the first Decades of the Ottoman Rule)," *Valjevo, postanak i uspon gradskog središta (Valjevo, Foundation and Development of the Town)*, (Valjevo 1994), 152-160; Ema Miljković, "Naselja Niškog kadiluka 1516. godine (Settlements of the Niš Kaza)," *Glasnik odbora za proučavanje jugoistočne Srbije SANU (Proceeding of the South-Serbian Studies Board of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* (2000), 24-34; Ema Miljković, "Naselje Rudo Polje u Smederevskom sandžaku od 1476-1572. godine (The Settlement Rudo Polje in the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1476 to 1572)," *Rudo Polje Karanovac Kraljevo (od prvih pomena do Prvog svetskog rata)*, (*Rudo Polje, Karanovac, Kraljevo, Since the First Notion up to the First World War*), (Beograd, Kraljevo 2000), 55-66; Ema Miljković, "Zeamet Kušlat (Zeamet Kušlat)," *Zemlja Pavlovića: srednji vijek i period turske vladavine: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa Rogatica, 27-29. juna 2002 (The Land of Pavlović Family: Middle Ages and the Period of the Turkish Rule: Proceeding from the Scientific Meeting of Historians, Rogatica 27-29th June 2002)*" (Banja Luka; Srpsko Sarajevo), 367-378; Ema Miljković, "Tipologija seoskih naselja u prvom veku osmanske vladavine u srpskim zemljama (Types of Village Settlements in the first Century of Ottoman Rule in the Serbian Lands)," *Spomenica Milana Vasića (Milan Vasić In Memoriam)*, (Banja Luka 2005), 185-213; Ema Miljković, "Grad Bihar kao osmansko utvrđenje (Bihar as the Ottoman Fortress)," *Mileševski zapisi (Museum of Prijepolje, Proceedings)* 7 (Prijepolje 2007), 127-132; Ema Miljković, "The Population of Kosovo and Metohija under Ottoman rule," *Kosovo and Metohija, Past, Present, Future*, (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2006), 5-17; Ema Miljković, "Gradska naselja Kapije Pomoravlja od pada pod osmansku vlast do izbijanja Prvog srpskog ustanka (Urban Settlements of the Gate of Pomoravlje from the Time of the Fall under the Ottoman Rule to the first Serbian Uprising)," *Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa Deligrad od ustanka ka nezavisnosti 1806-1876 (Proceedings from the International Scientific Meeting Deligrad from the Uprising toward the Independence 1806-1876)*, Beograd 2007, 9-19; Aleksandar Krstić, "Grad Nekudim i Nekudimska vlast (The

Significant research has been dedicated to the study of settlements and population in larger administrative and geographical units, such as Sanjak of Smederevo,¹³ the regions of Braničevo¹⁴ and Niš,¹⁵ and the regions around the rivers Danube,¹⁶ Sava,¹⁷

City of Nekudim and Nekudim's County)," *IČ (HR)* 55 (2007), 99-111; Dragana Amedoski, "Zemun i Zemunska nahija u XVI veku (Zemun and its *Nahiye* during the 16th Century)," *IČ (HR)* 52 (2005), 195-224; Dragana Amedoski, "Orijentalne građevine Kruševca od osmanskog osvajanja do kraja 16. Veka (Oriental Structures in Kruševac from the Ottoman Conquest to the End of the 16th Century)," *IČ (HR)* 55 (2007), 157-170; Dragana Amedoski, "Leskovački vakufi u periodu od osmanskog osvajanja do kraja 16. Veka (The *vaqufs* of Leskovac from the Time of the Ottoman Conquest until the End of the 16th Century)," *IČ (HR)* 57 (2008), 137-150.

- 13 Ema Miljković, *Smederevski sandžak 1476-1560. Zemlja. Naselja. Stanovništvo (The Sanjak of Smederevo 1476-1560. Territory. Settlements. Population)*, (Beograd: Istorijski Institut, 2004); Ema Miljković, "Prilog proučavanju islamizacije na srpskom etničkom prostoru u prvom veku osmanske vladavine: gradska naselja kao nosilac islamske kulture i civilizacije (na primeru Smederevskog sandžaka) (A Contribution to the Study of Islamization in the Serbian Lands during the first Century of Ottoman Rule: Urban Settlements as a Carrier of the Islamic Culture and Civilization: The Example of the Sanjak of Smederevo)," *Crkvene studije (Church Studies)* (6, Niš 2009), 341-351; Aleksandar Krstić, "Smederevski kraj u drugoj polovini 15. i početkom 16. veka (Smederevo and its Region during the second half of 15th and Beginning of the 16th Century)," *Smederevski zbornik (Museum of Smederevo, Proceedings)* 2 (2009) 45-72.
- 14 Ema Miljković, Aleksandar Krstić, *Braničevo u 15. veku. Istorijsko-geografska studija (Braničevo in the 15th century: Historic-Geographical Study)*, (Požarevac 2007); Ema Miljković, "Tipologija seoskih naselja u oblasti Braničeva u prvo veku osmanske vlasti (postavljanje problema i pravci istraživanja) (Types of Village Settlements in the Region of Braničevo during the first Century of Ottoman Rule)," *Braničevo kroz vojnu i kulturnu istoriju Srbije, Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa Istorijskog arhiva Požarevca sv. 3, (Braničevo Through the Military and Cultural History of Serbia. Proceedings from the scientific meeting organized by the Historical Archive of Požarevac, vol. 3)*, (Požarevac 2006), 29-40; Ema Miljković, "Osmanska populaciona politika na krajištu: naselja i stanovništvo Braničeva u drugoj polovini 15. veka (The Ottoman Population Policy in the Border Region: Settlements and Population of Braničevo in the second half of the 15th Century)," *Braničevo u istoriji Srbije, (Braničevo in the history of Serbia)*, (Požarevac-Beograd 2008), 209-221; Aleksandar Krstić, "Čitluk Ali-bega Mihaloglua u Ždrelo (Chitluk of Ali-beg Mihalogu in Ždrelo)," *Braničevski glasnik (Braničevo Review)* 1 (2002), 39-56; Aleksandar Krstić, "Prvi osmanski defteri kao izvor za istorijsku geografiju srednjovekovnog Braničeva (First Ottoman Census Books as a Source for Historical Demography of Medieval Braničevo)," *Braničevski glasnik (Braničevo Review)* 3/4 (2006), 95-113; Aleksandar Krstić, "Posedi manastira Drenče i Ždrelo u Braničevu iz vremena kneza Lazara (Lands of the Drenča and Ždrelo Monasteries in Braničevo from the Time of Prince Lazar)," *IČ (HR)* 53 (2006), 123-144; Aleksandar Krstić, "Srednjovekovni trgovi i osmanski pazari u Braničevu - kontinuitet i promene (Medieval Marketplaces and Ottoman Bazaars in Braničevo - Continuity and Changes)," *Moravska Srbija (Moravian Serbia)*, (Kruševac 2007), 95-113; Aleksandar Krstić, "Osmansko prodiranje i demografske promene u Braničevu (1389-1459) (The Ottoman Conquest and Demographic Changes in Braničevo (1389-1459))," *Braničevo u istoriji Srbije (Braničevo in the History of Serbia)*, (Požarevac-Beograd 2008), 113-128.
- 15 Aleksandar Krstić, *Ponišavlje u 15. veku (The Region of Niš in the 15th Century)*, (Beograd: C Print 2001).
- 16 Olga Zirojević, *Turci u Podunavlju (The Turks in the Region of Danube)*, (Pančevo 2008); Aleksandar Krstić, "Iz istorije srednjovekovnih naselja jugozapadnog Banata (15. vek - prva polovina 16. veka) (Extract from History of the Medieval Settlements of Southwestern Banat)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 73 (2007), 27-55.
- 17 Aleksandar Krstić, "Seoska naselja u Podunavlju i Posavini Srbije i južne Ugarske u 15. i prvoj trećini 16. veka (Village Settlements of the Danube and Sava Regions of Serbia and Southern Hungary in the 15th and first third of the 16th century)," *IČ (HR)* 52 (2005), 165-193; Aleksandar Krstić, "Vreme turske vlasti u Sremu (Turkish Rule in Srem)," *Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Fruške gore i Srema, zbornik* ➤

Morava,¹⁸ Drina,¹⁹ and Tisa.²⁰ This research has particularly focused on the role of the *waqfs*, other Islamic institutions, and infrastructure in development of the oriental towns in the Balkans.²¹

4. Economic History

In the past two decades, a relatively small number of historical articles dedicated to the economic history of the Ottoman Empire have been published in Serbian, the most important of which focuses on the history of mining in the Balkans during the rule of the Ottomans.²² Historians, to a lesser extent, concentrated on other branches of economics, such as agriculture and fishing in the Serbian areas, especially during the 16th and 17th centuries.²³

radova, ur. M. Maticki, (*Srem Throughout the Centuries: Cultural Layers of Fruška Gora and Srem*, ed. M. Maticki) (Beograd-Beočin 2007), 75-101.

18 Ema Miljković, "Pomoravlje od pada pod osmansku vlast do Prvog srpskog ustanka (The Region of Pomoravlje from the Fall under Ottoman Rule to the first Serbian Uprising)," *Morava*, (Beograd 2006), 283-321.

19 Ema Miljković, "Podrinje u prvom veku turske vlasti u srpskim zemljama (The Region of Podrinje during the first Century of Turkish Rule)," *Račanski zbornik (Rača Review)* 5, Bajina Bašta (2000), 7-16.

20 Srdjan Katić, "Kneževačko potisje pod turskom vlašću (The Region of Potisje of Kneževac Under Turkish rule)," *Istorija Novog Kneževca i okoline, (History of Novi Kneževac and its Surroundings)* (Novi Kneževac 2003), 135-209.

21 Dušanka Bojanić, "Les moussalas dans la ville balkanique," *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XV-XIX siècles) vol. 3. La ville dans les Balkans depuis la fin du moyen age jusqu'au debut du XX siècle*, (Belgrade Paris 1991), 73-85; Aleksandar Fotić, "Rustem-pašin vakuf u Beogradu (Rustem-pasha's *Vakuf* in Belgrade)," *IČ (HR)* 38 (1991), 233-241; Aleksandar Fotić, "Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's *Evkaf* in Belgrade," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54, 4 (2001) 437-452. [Dedicated to the memory of Professor Lajos Fekete's 100th birthday]; Jovana Šaljić and Dragana Amedoski, "Most na Nišavi u osmansko doba (The Bridge Over the Nišava river During Ottoman Times)," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja Niš (National Museum of Niš, Proceedings)* (16-17, Niš 2008), 145-151; Olga Zirojević, "Pitanje geta u južnoslovenskim osmanskim gradovima (The Issue of the Ghetto in the Southern Slavic Towns)," *IČ (HR)* 39 (1992), 79-86.

22 Srdjan Katić, "Uloga Jevreja u otvaranju i razvoju rudnika Kučajna i Majdanpek u drugoj polovini XVI veka (The Role of Jews in the Opening and Development of Mines in Kučajna and Majdanpek in the second half of the 16th century)," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju (Annual for Social History)* no. 7, vol. 1-2 (2001), 7-17; Srdjan Katić, *Rudnik Majdanpek 16-18. vek, Osmanski dokumenti o rudniku Majdanpek, (The Mines of Majdanpek 16-18th century: Ottoman Documents on the Mines of Majdanpek)* (Majdanpek 2009); Srdjan Katić, "Rudnik pod osmanskom vlašću u 15. i 16. Veku (Rudnik under the Ottoman Rule in the 15th and 16th Century)," *IČ (HR)* 55 (2007), 133-155; Srdjan Katić, "Proizvodnja bakra u Majdanpeku šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 16. veka (The Production of Copper in Majdanpek during the 1560s and 1570s)," *IČ (HR)* 57 (2008), 123-136; Srdjan Katić, "Potrošni materijali u osmanskom rudarstvu i metalurgiji (Auxiliary Materials Used in Mining and Metallurgy of the Ottoman Empire)," *IČ (HR)* 58 (2009), 197-207.

23 Olga Zirojević, "Ribolov na srednjem Dunavu (XVI i XVII vek) (Fishing in the Middle Danube: 16th and 17th century)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica Srpska Department of Social Studies Proceedings in history)* 49 (1994), 111-120; Olga Zirojević, *Bulgar: (ne)zaboravljena namirnica* (Bulgar, An (Un)forgotten Alimony), (Užice 2002); Olga Zirojević, "Biljni i stočni fond u vreme turske vladavine (Plants and Livestock during Turkish rule)," *Simpozijum SDSV (Proceedings from Scientific meeting dedicated to the young ages of Sreten Vukosavljević)* XXIII (Prijepolje 2008), 267-270; Tatjana Katić, "Garde na Dunavu od XVI do XX veka (Garde on the Danube from the 16th to 20th century)," *JiČ (YHR)* 1-2 (2001), 47-52; Ema Miljković, "Seoska privreda u Smederevskom sandžaku 1476-1560 (The Village Economy in the Sanjak

5. Church Studies

The articles and studies dedicated to the history of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire represent a very important segment of Serbian historiography over the past two decades. Some valuable issues, such as the problem with the functioning of the system of monastery land during Ottoman rule, have been successfully explained.²⁴ Of special importance are the works related to the history of the monasteries in Mount Athos, and particularly the book written by Aleksandar Fotić, professor in the Department of History in the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, titled *Mount Athos and Chilandar in the Ottoman Empire (15th-17th Century)*.²⁵

II

Two projects within the framework of Ottoman studies in Serbia, which have been realized in the last two decades, deserve to be described in more detail. First, the collection of works, published in Banja Luka in 2005, by the late academician Milan Vasić holds great importance for Serbian historiography. Vasić, a professor, studied the modern history of the Serbian people and the history of the Ottoman Empire while in Sarajevo, and later was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later of Republic of Srpska. Although some of the work included in this collection is well known by historians, other articles, published either in small domestic journals or abroad, are difficult to find in domestic libraries.²⁶

The articles and studies written by Milan Vasić are divided into four volumes:

1. Islamization in the Balkans;

of Smederevo: 1476-1560),” *IČ (HR)* 48 (2001), 117-136.

24 Olga Zirojević, “Posedi fruškogorskih manastira (Estates of the Fruška Gora Monasteries),” (Novi Sad 1992); Olga Zirojević, “Posedi manastira u Skadarskom sandžaku (Monastery Land in the Sanjak of Skadar),” (Novi Pazar 1999); Olga Zirojević, “Sremske crkve i manastiri u turskom popisu iz druge polovine 16. veka (Churches and Monasteries according to the Turkish Census Books from the second half of the 16th century),” *Zbornik MS za likovne umetnosti (Matica Srpska Proceeding in Arts)* 25 (1989) (Novi Sad 1992), 21-60.

25 The book was published in Belgrade in 2000. See also the works of Aleksandar Fotić: “The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and their Estates at the Time of Selim II,” *Turcica* XXVI (1994), 33-54; “L’Eglise chrétienne dans l’Empire ottoman: Le monastère Chilandar à l’époque de Sélim II,” *Dialogue. Journal international d’arts et de sciences*, vol. 3, no. 12 (Paris, Décembre 1994), 53-64; “Dispute between Chilandar and Vatopedi over the Boundaries in Komitissa (1500),” *Ἱερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ἱστορία καὶ τέχνη / The Monastery of Vatopedi. History and Art* [Athens 29/11–01/12/1996], *Ἀθωνικά Σύμμεικτα / Athonika Symmeikta* 7 (1999), 97-107; “Le Pyrgos de Kabalaréos – alias Pyrgos du roi Milutin,” *Revue des Études byzantines* 60 (2002), 209-213; “The Collection of Ottoman Documents in the Monastery of Hilandar (Mount Athos),” *Balkanlar ve İtalya’da şehir ve manastır arşivlerindeki Türkçe belgeler semineri* (16–17 Kasım 2000), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 2003), 31-37; “Concealed Donation or a Sale: The Acquisition of Monastic Property (15th – 17th C.),” *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 9–13 Eylül 2002), Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II. Cilt – I. Kısım, (Ankara: TTK Basımevi 2005), 721-728; “The Metochion of the Chilandar Monastery in Salonica (Sixteenth – Seventeenth Centuries),” in *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, eds. E. Kolovos, Ph. Kotzageorgis, S. Laiou, M. Sariyannis, (Istanbul: The Isis Press 2007), 109-114.

26 About the life and work of Milan Vasić, see: Miomir Dašić, Željko Vujadinović, “Milan Vasić, život i delo (Milan Vasić, life and work),” *Spomenica Milana Vasića (Milan Vasić In Memoriam)*, (Banja Luka 2005), 9-28.

2. The *martolos* units in the Yugoslav lands under Ottoman rule;
3. Settlement in the Balkans (16th-18th century);
4. Yugoslav lands under Turkish rule.

As these volumes contain a variety of topics, it is difficult to select just one for further discussion; nevertheless, special attention should be paid to the importance of the first volume which explores not only the subject of the conversion of the Balkan people to Islam, but also of the changing social structure under Ottoman rule. However, Islamization, while one of the most intriguing topics in Serbian historiography related to the Ottoman period, has not yet been adequately studied. Over the past few decades, several studies have been conducted on this subject, contributing to a better and more objective view of this process.²⁷ It is hoped that such studies will lay the foundation for future researchers to complete the picture with new and more precise results.

The publishing house Clio initiated an important project titled "Private Life in the Serbian Lands" in 2003. The second report from this study, "Private Life in the Serbian Lands on the Eve of the Modern Age" (published in 2005) describes the period of Serbian history under the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Venetian Republic. The initial studies of private life in the Ottoman Balkans examined the legal standards within which individuals and families lived and existed and the application of these standards in the daily life of the Serbian *reaya*, Ottoman subjects who had been granted a certain amount of religious freedom, but were at the same time second-class citizens in Ottoman society. This introductory study was followed by studies dedicated to the visual culture of the Serbs and the private identity of the Christians in the 18th century,

²⁷ See for example: Nedim Filipović, "Napomene o islamizaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku (Some Notes on Islamization in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 15th Century)," *Godišnjak ANUBIH (Academy of Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Almanac)* VII, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* knj. 5 (*Center for Balkanic Studies* vol. 5), (Sarajevo 1970), 141-169; Nedim Filipović, "Islamizacija vlahu u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV i XVI vijeku (Islamization of the Valach population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 15th and 16th century)," *Radovi ANUBIH (Academy of Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Proceedings)* LXXIII, *Odjeljenje društvenih nauka (Department of Social Sciences)*, vol. 22, (Sarajevo 1983), 139-149; Olga Zirojević, *Konvertiti – kako su se zvali (Converts - What Were Their Names)*, (Podgorica: Almanac 2001); Olga Zirojević, *Islamizacija na južnoslovenskom prostoru, Dvoverje (Islamization with the South Slavs: Dualism in Faith)*, (Beograd: Srpski genealoški centar 2003); Milan Vasić, "Etnička kretanja u Bosanskoj krajini u XVI vijeku (Ethnic Movements in the Region of Bosanska Krajina in the 16th century)," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BIH (Historian Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Proceedings)* XIII, (Sarajevo 1962), 233-250; Adem Handžić, "O islamizaciji u sjevero-istočnoj Bosni u XVI vijeku (On Islamization in Northeastern Bosnia in the 16th Century)," *POF (Contributions for Oriental Philology)* 16-17, (Sarajevo 1970), 5-49; Radovan Samardžić, "Srbi u turskoj istoriji (Serbs in Turkish History)," *Zbornik za orijentalne studije (Review for Oriental Studies)* I, (Beograd 1992), 1-37; Ema Miljković, "Prilog proučavanju početaka islamizacije u Braničevu 1467-1476. godine (Contribution on the Study of Islamization in Braničevo 1467-1476)," *Zbornik MS za istoriju (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 47-48, (Novi Sad 1993), 125-133; Ema Miljković, "The Beginning of Islamization in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Balkanistic Forum* 1 (Blagoevgrad 1995), 97-104; Ema Miljković, "Muslimanstvo i bogumilstvo u istoriografiji (Muslims and Bogumils in Historiography)," *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena, Istorijski institut SANU (Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Middle Ages to the modern times. Historical Institute of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)*, (Beograd 1995), 286-287; Darko Tanasković, "Islamsko u književnosti i kulturi balkanskih naroda (The Islamic Component in the Literature and Culture of the Balkan Nations)," *Letopis MS 482, sv. 4, oktobar 2008 (Matica Srpska Chronicle vol. 4, October 2008)*, 675-708.

the living conditions in the towns and villages, the way the individual accepted his home and his settlement as well as studies on the main characteristics of nutrition, including foods and beverages, coffee and tobacco, and popular epics, dance, music culture.

III

Results of the research conducted by the Serbian experts in Ottoman history have also been published in the proceedings from conferences both in Serbia and abroad. Although only a few conferences held in Serbia have focused solely on Ottoman history, some very important results have been published in the conference proceedings from the past two decades.²⁸

As a result of the initiative of the Historical Institute, formerly known as the Center for Ottoman Studies (which was until five years ago a special research unit of the Historical Institute of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), an international conference on “Islam, the Balkans and the Great Powers” was held in December 1996. In the proceedings from this conference, published in 1997, distinguished domestic (M. Ekmečić, T. Popović, O. Zirojević, D. Bojanić), as well as foreign (E. Scopetea, H.G. Maier, V. Scheremet, K. Kaser, A. Velkov) scholars present their views of different aspects of history of the Balkan nations under Ottoman rule, both from the Ottoman, as well as from the wider European perspective. The key issue at the conference was discussion on the fate of the Balkan world in collision or alliance with the Western Christian forces, on one side, and the Ottoman Empire on the other. Well aware that it is not possible to provide an exact answer on such a serious issue, the participants of the conference shared a variety of interesting views on the Ottoman past of the Balkans, and also regarding the modern challenges related to the confrontation between Christianity and Islam in Southeastern Europe.

Serbian specialists in Ottoman history, especially those who research the early Ottoman period, i.e. 15th and 16th century, have also participated in specialized conferences on the history of the Middle Ages.²⁹ The intersection of Ottoman and Medieval studies and Serbia has become more common over the last two decades, caused by the fact that Ottoman documents from the second half of 15th and first half of the 16th century can be utilized to shed light on issues relevant to the social history of the Serbian people in the last decades of the independent Serbian state.³⁰

28 See for example: *Socijalna struktura srpskih gradskih naselja (XII-XVIII) (The Social structure of Serbian Urban Settlements [XII-XVIII])*, (Beograd-Smederevo 1992), *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XV-XIX siecles)*, *La ville dans les Balkans depuis la fin du moyen age jusqu' au debut du XX siecle*, (Belgrad-Paris 1991); *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena (Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Middle Ages to the Modern Times)*, (Beograd 1995); *Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca (Belgrade in the Writing of European Travelers)*, (Beograd 2001); *Braničevo kroz vojnu i kulturnu istoriju Srbije, (Braničevo Through the Military and Cultural History of Serbia)*, (Požarevac 2006); *Kosovo i Metohija, prošlost, sadašnjost, budućnost (Kosovo and Metohija. Past. Present. Future)*, (Beograd 2006).

29 See for example: *Moravska Srbija (Moravian Serbia)*, (Beograd-Kruševac 2007); *Srpsko srednjovekovno pravo u svetlu istorijskih izvora (Serbian Medieval Law in the Historical Sources)*, (Beograd 2009); *Pad srpske Despotovine 1459. godine (Fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459)*, (Beograd 2010).

30 In his introduction to the book *Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages (Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku)* [(Beograd 1978), 28], written by Mihailo Dinić, the late academician Sima Ćirković points out the importance of the Ottoman census book as a source for the historical geography of the Serbian lands in the Middle

The described methodological approach has been present for more than a decade in modern Serbian medieval studies, which has made use of information from Ottoman census books to identify settlements, to determine the exact frontiers of some regions, and to study the demographic movements in particular regions in the 15th century.³¹ Also, lasting past five years, several articles on the continuity of institutions in the pre-Ottoman Serbian society and the early Ottoman period have been published.³² While research in this area started in the second half of the 20th century, it did not produce serious results.³³ Hopefully, the modern Serbian historiography will be more successful in demonstrating that the fall of Smederevo under the Ottoman rule in 1459 was not such a turning point, as some of the Serbian institutions survived within the Ottoman system by adapting themselves to the framework of Islamic law.

Some significant books and articles, which make use of Western sources and thus belong to the framework of general European history, deserve mentioning as they are related to both the history of the Ottoman Empire and the history of the Serbian nation under Ottoman rule. One such example is *France and Turkey 1687-1691*, written by Nikola Samardžić, which examines the relationship between the Ottoman central government and the French court during the Great Vienna War, which greatly affected the history of the Serbs as well. In the same category, *Carlo V and the Turks and Spaniards in Castel Nuovo (1538-1539)*,³⁴ should not go unnoticed as they describe some of the turning points in European history in the first half of the 16th century, which affected the position of the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire.

IV

It is easy to notice, even in this brief survey, one of the main shortcomings of Ottoman history studies in Serbia - the obvious chronological misbalance. A brief look at the full bibliographies of the researchers, as well as the list of studies and projects in this area, shows that the majority of contributions focus on the early Ottoman period,

Ages. Such a methodological approach was used in the works of some Serbian medieval historians, such as Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, Miloš Blagojević, Siniša. Mišić, Đuro Tošić and Jelena Mrgić

- 31 See, for example: Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, "O srednjovjekovnom trgu na mjestu današnjeg Sarajeva (About the Medieval Market on the Place of Modern Sarajevo)," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta (Faculty of Philosophy Sarajevo, Proceedings)* XI-1, *Spomenica Jorja Tadića (Jorjo Tadić In Memoriam)* (1970), 353-362; Miloš Blagojević, "Župa Moravica i zemlja Moravice (District of Moravica and Region of Moravica)," *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju: istorija, umetnost (Saint Ahilije in Arilje: History, Art)*, (Beograd 2002), 17-20; Siniša Mišić, "Naseljenost Polimlja u srednjem veku (The Population of Polimlje in the Middle Ages)," *Mileševski zapisi (Museum in Prijepolje, Proceedings)* 6 (2005), 63-79; Jelena Mrgić, *Severna Bosna (13-16. vek) (Northern Bosnia 13th-16th century)*, (Beograd 2008).
- 32 Ema Miljković, Aleksandar Krstić, "Na raskršću dve epohe: kontinuitet i promene društvene strukture u Braničevu u 15. veku (At the Crossroads of Two Epochs: Continuity and Change in the 15th Century Braničevo Social Structure)," *IČ (HR)* 56 (2008), 279-304.
- 33 Dušanka Bojanić, "O srpskoj baštini i soču u turskim zakonima (About Serbian *Baština* and *Soče* in the Turkish *Kanuns*)," *IČ (HR)* 20 (1973), 157-180; Dušanka Bojanić, "Jedan rani kanun za vlahs Smederevskog sandžaka (One Early Kanun for the Valach Population of the Sanjak of Smederevo)," *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja (Military Museum in Belgrade, Proceedings)* 11-12 (1960), 146-160.
- 34 Nikola Samardžić, "Karlo V i Turci," *Islam, Balkan i Velike sile (Islam, the Balkans and the Great Powers)*, (Beograd 1998), 205-218; "Španci u Novom (1538-1539)," *Zbornik za istoriju BiH (Review for History of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 2 (1997), 173-196.

and particularly on the field of social history; just a few articles on the history of the Serbian nation in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries have been published.

At the beginning of the 1990s, specialists in Ottoman studies began to express interest in conducting research on 19th century Serbia within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Since that time, some important studies, which focused primarily on the Turkish chancellery of Prince Miloš Obrenović, have been written; however, this area of research has not been studied on a larger scale and as a result there is an insufficient number of specialists in the field.³⁵ Also, the effort to publish the Ottoman sources relevant for Serbian national history has been inadequate. Despite this, important collections of documents have been published in the past two decades, such as the Ottoman census book for *kaza* of Niš (dated 1498)³⁶ and the Ridjani tribe from the region of Zaozjen, then sultan's firmans from the Hilandar monastery,³⁷ the Ottoman documents concerning the relations between the Orthodox and Catholic church in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia,³⁸ and the collection of Ottoman documents related

35 See the following works by Mirjana Marinković: "Novi izvori o politici kneza Miloša Obrenovića prema narodnim pokretima na granicama Srbije (New Sources on Prince Miloš's Policy Towards Popular Movements on the Serbian Borders)," *IČ (HR)* XL-XLI (1993-1994) (Beograd 1995), 233-248; "Kapetan Miša Anastasijević i turski brodari (Captain Miša Anastasijević and Turkish Boatmen)," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 52 (1996), 117-124; "Aleksa Simić," *Zbornik MSI (Matica srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceedings in History)* 58 (1998), 145-157; "Srbija prve polovine XIX veka u Istoriji čudnovatih događaja u Beogradu i Srbiji Rašida Beograđanina i Memoiaru Ibrahima Mansur-efendije (Serbia in the first half of the 19th Century in the History of the Strange Events in Belgrade and Serbia by Rashid from Belgrade and in Memoir by Ibrahim Mansur-Efendi)," *Zbornik MS za istoriju (Matica Srpska Department of Social Sciences Proceeding in history)* 61/62 (2000), 79-186; "Dva turska viđenja prilika na Balkanu krajem XIX veka (Two Turkish Views of the Situation in the Balkans at the End of the 19th century)," *Evropa i Istočno pitanje. Političke i civilizacije promene (Europe and the Eastern Question: Political and Civilizational Changes)*, (Beograd 2001), 207-215; "The Shaping of a Modern Serbian Nation and of its State under the Turkish Rule," in *Disrupting and Reshaping. Early Stages of Nation-Building in the Balkans*, eds. Marco Dogo and Guido Franzinetti, (Ravenna 2002), 37-46; "Tanzimat i državna ideja 'Novih Osmanlija' (Tanzimat and the State Idea of the 'New Ottomans')," *Nacionalni identitet i suverenitet u jugoistočnoj Evropi, (National identity and sovereignty in south-eastern Europe)*, (Beograd 2003), 391-402; "Bosna u prepisci kneza Miloša Obrenovića sa turskim vlastima (Bosnia in Correspondence Between Prince Miloš Obrenović and the Turkish Authorities)," *Zbornik za istoriju BIH (Review for History of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 2 (2002), 173-182; "Tajni memoar Aleksandra Karateodori-paše sa Berlinskog kongresa (The Secret Report of Alexander Karatheodori-pasha on the Congress of Berlin)," *IČ (HR)* 58 (2009), 249-260.

36 Milan Vasić, Olga Zirojević, Aleksandar Stojanovski, "Popis niškog kadiluka iz 1498. godine (Census Book of the Niš Kaza from 1498)", *Spomenik SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* CXXXI, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka (Department of the historical sciences) 7, (Beograd 1992), 97-148.

37 Dušanka Bojanić, Vančo Boškov, "Sultanske povelje iz manastira Hilandara (Sultan Charters From the Monastery of Hilandar)," *Hilandarski zbornik (Hilandar Review. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* 8, (Beograd 1991), 167-213.

38 Vančo Boškov, "Turski dokumenti o odnosu katoličke i pravoslavne crkve u Bosni, Hercegovini i Dalmaciji (XV-XVII vek) (Ottoman Documents Concerning the Relations Between the Orthodox and Catholic Church in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia, XV-XVII century)," *Spomenik SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)* CXXXI, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka (Department of the historical sciences) 7, (Beograd 1992), 7-97.

to the sale of the Turkish estates to Prince Miloš Obrenović.³⁹ In addition, individual documents have been published in a journal called *Miscellanea*, which specializes in the publication of historical documents, and other outlets as part of various articles and studies.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it is vital that the publication of the Ottoman census books (*defters*) for some of the Serbian regions be organized, especially for those which date from the second half of the 15th century, which are, as already emphasized, important for specialists in Medieval, as well as in Ottoman studies.⁴¹

The best example of a historical-demographic study which utilized the Ottoman census books is a project undertaken by the late academician Miloš Macura called *Settlements and population at the Branković region* (Tur. *Vilayet-i Vlk*), which consisted of an interdisciplinary team of historians, demographers, sociologists, archeologists and geographers who tried to shed light on the various aspects of demographic movement in correlation with the settlements. Although there are some omissions, the most serious of which is the fact that the hypotheses were made on the basis of the results of one single census and were not compared to at least one other census book, this study constitutes a huge step forward in the Serbian social sciences, and presents many useful results and conclusions.

V

Besides, as already pointed out, the lack of specialists in this field and the insufficient financial support for research trips, another major problem is the lack of foreign literature on the subject. Relevant literature either in Turkish or other European languages on this subject cannot be found in bookshops nor in the major libraries in Serbia. In the past two decades, only two books -albeit very important ones- on the

39 Dušanka Bojanić, Tatjana Katić, "Osmanska dokumenta o prodaji turskih imanja knezu Milošu Obrenoviću (Ottoman Documents Related to the Sale of the Turkish Estates to Prince Miloš Obrenović)," *Mešovita građa. Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVI, (Beograd 2005).

40 "Belgrade in 1708", *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXIV, (Beograd 2005), 7-19; Tatjana Katić, "Trgovište u osmanskim popisima prizrenskog sandžaka iz 1530, 1550. i 1571. godine (Trgovište in the Ottoman Census Book of the Sanjak of Prizren from 1530, 1550 and 1571)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII, (Beograd 2006), 163-175; Srdjan Katić, "Dva izveštaja o poslovanju rudnika Majdanpek iz 1566/67. i 1567/68. godine (Two Reports on Dealing of the Mine of Majdanpek from 1566/67 and 1567/68)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII, (Beograd 2006), 175-187; Dragana Amedoski, "Dva popisa zemunske nahije iz 1578/9. i 1588-1596. godine (Two Census Books of Zemun Nahiye from 1578/9 and 1588-96)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII, (Beograd 2006), 187-235; Srdjan Katić, "Obnavljanje rudnika Novi Bezistan u Trepči 1664. godine (Renewal of the Mine Novi Bezistan in Trepča in 1664)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII (Beograd 2006), 235-245; Srdjan Katić, "Otvaranje rudnika Samokov i Majdanpek 1691. godine (Opening of the Mines Samokov and Majdanpek in 1691)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII (Beograd 2006), 245-253; Tatjana Katić, "Popis osmanske dvorske apoteke iz 1714. godine (List of Articles from the Ottoman Court Pharmacy in 1714)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII, (Beograd 2006), 253-273; Ljiljana Čolić, "Bujuruldija Muhamed Salih Vedžihi-paš (Buyuruldu of Muhamed Salih Vecihi-pasha)," *Mešovita građa Miscellanea*, nova serija (new series) knj. XXVII, (Beograd 2006), 283-291.

41 Miloš Macura (ed.), *Naselja i stanovništvo Oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine (Settlements and population of the Branković region in 1455)*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik 2001).

history of the Ottoman Empire have been translated to Serbian: *The History of the Ottoman Empire*,⁴² edited by Robert Mantrand, and translated from French, and *The Longest Century of the Empire* by Ilber Ortayli, translated from Turkish.⁴³ Also, the second edition of Halil Inalcik's classic *The History of the Ottoman Empire. Classic age 1300-1600* was issued (it was first published in 1974, and the second edition is a reprint of the first with the same preface by the late academician Radovan Samardžić⁴⁴). The prefaces of these books are written by specialists in Ottoman studies. The preface of Mantrand's *History*, written by Prof. Aleksandar Fotić, also points out that some issues, such as the issue of the Valach population, are treated differently in Mantrand's book on one hand, and in Serbian historiography on the other.

The most valuable aspect of the abovementioned monographs and articles is that they are all based on primary, original Ottoman sources, accompanied whenever possible by documents of different provenance, in order to paint an objective and precise picture of the chosen topics.

It can be concluded that while the last two decades of the study of Ottoman history in Serbia have introduced a new range of articles and topics, there is still an urgent need for more systematic and methodological work in this field. It is of vital importance that the education system at the university level be reorganized so that a larger number of young people have the opportunity to become a specialist in both the Ottoman language and history.

B) The Modern Montenegrin Historiography on the Ottoman Empire

As for Montenegrin historians, they have not specifically researched the Ottoman period, but have referred to it only as a part of wider topics and in the framework of international relations in the 19th century.⁴⁵ This is undoubtedly the result of the lack of Montenegrin experts in Ottoman studies; only recently have several young people, mostly employed by the Historical Institute of Montenegro, acquired special knowledge and started research in this field. However, this does not mean that the period of Ottoman rule in Montenegro was completely overlooked in Yugoslav historiography; the work and studies of two famous Yugoslav experts in Ottoman studies, Branislav Djurdjev and Milan Vasić, who spent most of their professional lives as professors at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, were dedicated at least partly to the issue of Ottoman rule in Montenegro.

Branislav Djurdjev⁴⁶ wrote his doctoral thesis on Ottoman rule in Montenegro in the 16th century (the thesis was defended in Belgrade, in Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1952, and published in Sarajevo in 1953).⁴⁷ Although some of his conclusions

42 Rober Mantran, *Istorija Osmanskog carstva*, trans. Ema Miljković, (Beograd: Clio 2002).

43 Ilber Ortayli, *Najduži vek imperije*, translated and foreword by Mirjana Marinković, (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga 2006).

44 Halil Inalcik, *Istorija Osmanskog carstva. Klasično doba 1300-1600*, translated by Milica Martinović, (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga 1974; Beograd: Utopija 2003).

45 See, for example: Radoslav Raspopović, *Diplomatija Crne Gore 1711-1918 (Diplomacy of Montenegro 1711-1918)*, (Podgorica: Istorijski institute Crne Gore 1996), with wider bibliography.

46 For more details on his life and work, see: Enver Redžić, *Branislav Djurdjev – ličnost i djelo (Branislav Djurdjev – Life and Work)*, (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2003).

47 Djurdjev Branislav, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku (Turkish Rule in Montenegro During the*

are disputed, mainly those related to the characteristics of Ottoman rule in Montenegro, his work is still the best synthesis written on the subject as it makes use of primary Ottoman sources. In addition, Djurdjev wrote a range of articles and studies related to this topic, the most important of which were compiled in a monograph titled *The Formation and Development of the Montenegrin and Herzeg Mountain Tribes*.⁴⁸ He also wrote the chapters in *The History of the Yugoslav Nations* on the history of Montenegro under Ottoman rule.⁴⁹

Equally significant is the work of Milan Vasić, whose study related to towns in Montenegro during Ottoman rule presents an immense contribution not only to the history of Montenegro, but also to the methodology of historical science, as it is one of the best examples of the usage of data from the Ottoman census books.⁵⁰ Vasić also wrote other articles relevant for the history of Montenegro under Ottoman rule.⁵¹

Although based on Western and not Ottoman sources, the parts of the third volume of *The History of Montenegro*, written by Gligor Stanojević, which discuss the period from the 16th to the 18th century from the angle of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Venice, the two mighty powers of the time who shared similar interests in Montenegro, deserve acknowledgment.⁵²

As for the younger generation of historians, the monograph written by Jasmina Djordjević,⁵³ and the work of Adnan Pepić⁵⁴ are worth mentioning. Although primarily an expert in the Arabic studies, a relevant contribution to the development of Ottoman studies in Montenegro was also made by Dragana Kujović.⁵⁵

16th and 17th century), (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1953).

48 Djurdjev Branislav, *Postanak i razvitak crnogorskihi i hercegovačkih brdskih plemena*, (Titograd: Crnogorska Akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984). For full bibliography of his work related to the history of Montenegro, see: Vesna Mušeta – Ašćerić, “Bibliografija radova akademika prof. dr Branislava Djurdjeva (Bibliography of the Academician Branislav Djurdjev),” *Prilozi (Contributions)* 28, (Sarajevo 1999), 271-301.

49 *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije (History of the Yugoslav Nations)*, (Beograd: Prosveta, 1960), 152-168; 509-531.

50 Milan Vasić, “Gradovi pod turskom vlašću (Towns under the Turkish rule),” *Istorija Crne Gore (History of Montenegro)*, III, vol. 1, (Titograd 1975), 503-607.

51 Milan Vasić, “Etnički odnosi u jugoslovensko-albanskom graničnom području prema popisnom defteru sandžaka Skadar iz 1582/83. Godine (Ethnic Relations in the Yugoslav-Albanian Border Zone according to the Census Book for the Sanjak of Skadar from 1582/83),” *Islamicizacija na Balkanskom poluostrvu, (Conversion to Islam on the Balkans)*, (Istočno Sarajevo 2005), 51-63.

52 *Istorija Crne Gore (History of Montenegro)*, III, vol. 1 (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1975): Gligor Stanojević, “Crna Gora u XVI vijeku (Montenegro during the 16th century),” 3-73; “Crna Gora u XVII vijeku (Montenegro During the 17th Century),” 91-108; “Crna Gora u XVIII vijeku (Montenegro During the 18th Century),” 231-365.

53 Jasmina Djordjević, *Dračevica i Ridjani sredinom XVI vijeka (Dračevica and Ridjani in the Middle of the 16th Century)*, (Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević 1997).

54 Adnan Pepić, “Podgorička tvrđava u drugoj polovini XVI vijeka (The Fortress of Podgorica in the second half of the 16th Century),” *Istorijski zapisi (Historical Writings)* vol. 80, no. 1-4, (Podgorica, 2007), 227-; Adnan Pepić, “Gradovi na crnogorskom primorju pod osmanskom vlašću (Towns on the Montenegrin Coast during the Ottoman Rule),” *Almanah* 41-42, (Podgorica, 2008), 133-142; Adnan Pepić, “Prvi pomeni sela Zloglavlje u osmanskim dokumentima (First Notion of the Village of Zloglavlje in the Ottoman Documents),” *Istorijski zapisi (Historical Writings)* vol. 81, no. 1-4 (Podgorica, 2008), 193-199.

55 Dragana Kujović, *Tragovima orijentalno-islamskog kulturnog naslijeđa u Crnoj Gori (On the Track of Oriental and Islamic Cultural Heritage in Montenegro)*, (Podgorica: Almanah, 2006); Dragana Kujović, “Husein-pašina džamija: tragom zapisa i pedanja (Husein-pasha Mosque: On the Trace of Writings and

Attentive readers may have noticed that some historians mentioned above in the survey of the development of Ottoman studies in Serbia also wrote articles related to the history of Montenegro under Ottoman rule. This overlap is easily understood when bearing in mind the fact that the former Yugoslavia was, until the beginning of the 1990s, a single scientific as well as political realm, with no strict geographical divisions for historians to follow.

C) The Modern Croatian Historiography on the Ottoman Empire

Although the Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, created in Zagreb in 1927 as part of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (known today as the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), contained Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts, neither Turkish nor Ottoman studies were a main focus in Croatian linguistic or historical science. In 1994, a Chair for Turkish studies was established at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Zagreb University, but the main research direction of this position is in the field of the Turkish language and literature.⁵⁶

As for historical science, Ottoman studies in Croatia are well represented by Professor Nenad Moačanin. Professor of Early Modern History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Zagreb University and expert in Ottoman language and history, Moačanin has written four very important books,⁵⁷ mostly dedicated to the Ottoman period of Croatian history, but also on the larger topic of southern European history from the 16th to 18th century. Moačanin has also written dozens of articles and studies on the topic at hand, thus placing Croatia on the map as a European country with interest in Ottoman studies.⁵⁸

Tradition," *Istorijski zapisi (Historical Writings)*, vol. 74, no. 1-2 (2001), 99-107; Dragana Kujović, "Orientalno-islamski segment kulturne istorije Crne Gore na stranicama 'Zapisa' ('Istorijskih zapisa') (The Oriental-Islamic Segment of the Cultural History of Montenegro on the Pages of 'Writings' ['Historical Writings'])," *Istorijski zapisi (Historical Writings)*, vol. 80, no. 1-4 (2007), 65-71.

56 For more details see the official website of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Zagreb University: www.ffzg.hr.

57 Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube 1526-1690* (Leiden, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005); Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine (Slavonia and Srem under the Ottoman Rule)*, (Slavonski Brod: Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001); Nenad Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska (Turkish Croatia)*, (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1999); Nenad Moačanin, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskog carstva (1537-1691) (Požega and Požeština within the Ottoman Empire 1537-1691)*, (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1997).

58 Some of his works include: "Pristup ekohistoriji Podravine prema osmanskim izvorima (Approach to the Eco-history of Podravina According to Ottoman sources)," *Ekonomska i ekohistorija (Economic and eco-history)*, (2005), 139-146; "Publishing Ottoman registers: Some Neglected Points," *Archivum Ottomanicum*. 19 (2001), pp. 103-106; "Mass islamization of peasants in Bosnia: Demystifications," *Melanges, Prof. Machiel Kiel, Temimi, Abdeljelil* (ed.) (Zaghoun: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1999), 353-358; "La conversione di massa di contadini bosniaci all' Islam", *Storia religiosa dell' Islam nei Balcani*, Luciano Vaccaro (ed.) (Gazzada: Centro Ambrosiano, 2008), 169-188; "Osmanlı Bosnası," *Türkler*, Güzel, Hasan Celal (ed.), (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 399-405; "Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva do razdoblja reformi u Bosni i Hercegovini (1463.-1831.) (The Croats Under the Rule of the Ottoman Empire Until the Reformation Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1463-1831)," *Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna Krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva u Ranom Novom vijeku (Croatian-Slavonian Military Border and the Croats under the Ottoman Rule in the Early Modern Time)*, Budak, Neven (ed.), (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2007), 108-185 (1997), 33-56; "Turska vojna krajina u hrvatskim zemljama: prolegomena za 16. i 17. stoljeće (The Turkish Military Border

Finally, the works of two young colleagues from Zagreb, Vjeran Kursar and Dino Mujadžević, who have already published relevant articles on Croatian history under Ottoman rule should not go unmentioned.⁵⁹

In sum, it can be concluded that out of the three scientific and academic centers included in this research, while still not satisfactory, Belgrade has the most developed level of Ottoman studies. The opening of an Oriental Institute in Belgrade would be both justified and beneficial since understanding the Ottoman period is vital for understanding Serbian history in general. Since in Zagreb, Turkish (as well as Ottoman) studies exist at the university level, it can be expected that there will soon be more experts working in this field, who will undoubtedly produce greater results than have been produced so far. As for Podgorica, the lack of experts in this field is still very obvious. The only solution for this problem is the establishment of a Chair for Turkish or Ottoman studies at the university level, who could lead research on the important topics related to the Montenegrin history under the Ottoman Empire which have not been studied yet.

The author sincerely hopes that Ottoman studies in all the abovementioned centers will reach the level their importance is worthy of and that there will be possibilities (foremost financial) for young, talented people to study Ottoman language and history so as to inspire new research in this direction.

List of abbreviations

Akademija Nauka Bosne i Hercegovine (ANUBIH) = Academy of Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Istorijski časopis (IČ) = *Historical Review (HR)*

Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis (JIČ) = *Yugoslav Historical Review (YHR)*

Simpozijum Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića (Simpoziju SDSV) = *Proceedings from Scientific meeting dedicated to the young ages of Sreten Vukosavljević*

Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti (SANU) = Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Zbornik Matice Srpska za istoriju (Zbornik MSI) = *Matica Srpska, Department of Social Sciences, Proceedings*

in the Croatian Lands: Prolegomena for the 16th and 17th century),” *Hereditas rerum Croaticarum ad honorem Mirko Valentić*, Alexander Buczynski, Stjepan Matković, (Zagreb: Hrvatski Institut za povijest, 2003), 85-91. For complete bibliography, see: www.bib.irb.hr/listaradova?autor=086520

59 Vjeran Kursar, “Legal Status of Ottoman Non-Muslims in Bosnia (1463-1699): A Case Study,” (M.A Thesis: Bilkent University, 2007); Vjeran Kursar, “Some Remarks on the Organization of Ottoman Society in the Early Modern Period: The Question of ‘Legal Dualism’ and Societal Structures”, Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Močanin and Vjeran Kursar (ed.), *Ottoman Studies in Transformation. Papers from CIEPO 18, Zagreb*, (Berlin: LIT Verlag); Dino Mujadžević, “Muhimme defter iz 1552. - osmanski izvor za povijest Slavonije i Srijema (Muhimme Defter from 1552 - the Ottoman Source for the History of Slavonia and Srem),” *Scrinia Slavonica: godišnjak Podružnice za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest (Annual of the Department for History of Slavonia, Srem and Baranja of the Croatian Historical Institute)*, 8 (2008), 399-428; Dino Mujadžević, “Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora (The Ottoman Conquest in Slavonia in 1552 according to the Ottoman Documents),” *Povijesni prilozi (Contributions in History)* 28 (2009), 89-108; Dino Mujadžević, “Ibrahim Pečevića (1574. - 1649.). Osmanski povjesničar Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine podrijetlom iz Pečuha (Ibrahim Pečevi [1574-1649]: The Ottoman Historian of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Pečuh by Origin),” *Scrinia Slavonica: godišnjak Podružnice za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest (Annual of the Department for History of Slavonia, Srem and Baranja of the Croatian Historical Institute)* 9 (2009), 375-389.

Modern Serbian, Montenegrin and Croatian Historiography on the Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

This paper deals with the development and results of the studies of Ottoman history in Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia. The main focus is on the last two decades with the survey of the most important works published in this field. The author also emphasizes the main benefits and drawbacks of the aforementioned studies.

Keywords: Historiography, Ottoman Empire, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia